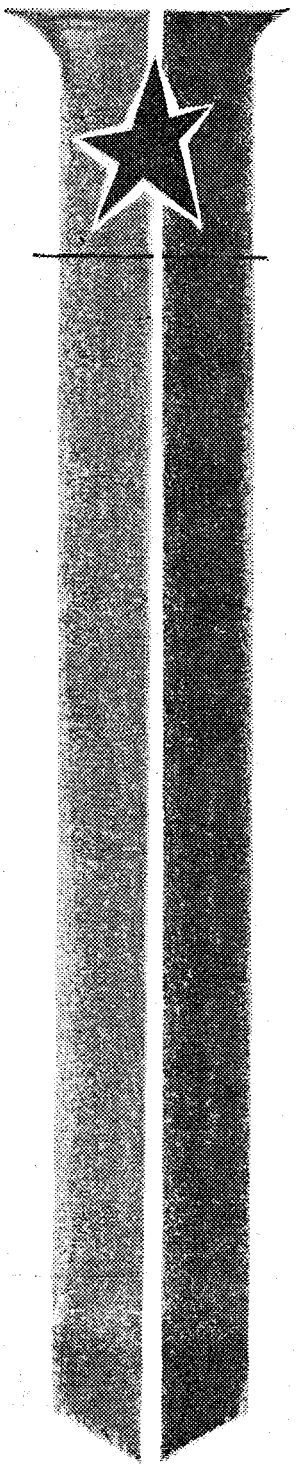
THE NATION

APRIL 1, 1961 . . 25c



The Federal Highway Program

SUPER-GRAFT ON SUPERHIGHWAYS

Stanley Meisler

NEW LOGIC for the TEST BAN

Anatol Rapoport

Comments on the HUAC Vote by

SIX CONGRESSMEN WHO VOTED NO

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LETTERS

Rep. Zablocki on HUAC

Dear Sirs: I was surprised to read your editorial of March 18, entitled, "The Issue, Mr. Speaker." It is outstanding not only for its poor logic, but also for its disregard for the laws of mathematics. Inasmuch as my name appears in it, I feel compelled to comment on it.

First, the Supreme Court and the U.S. House of Representatives acted on two entirely separate and distinct issues.

To review the issues involved:

The Supreme Court, on the one hand, ruled on the issue whether Wilkinson unlawfully refused to answer a question pertinent to a matter under inquiry before a subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities. The question involved was, "Are you now a member of the Communist Party?" The majority of the Supreme Court held that the question was pertinent and that the refusal to answer it was unlawful. A similar issue was involved in the *Braden* case.

The House of Representatives, on the other hand, was deciding, in effect, whether the Committee on Un-American Activities should continue its operations within budgetary limitations recommended by the House Administration Committee. The decision was overwhelmingly in the affirmative.

In my opinion, you cannot in logic compare the two decisions, and further, as you have done in your editorial, try to infer from that comparison the public sentiment with respect to the Committee on Un-American Activities. Your conclusion is pure poppycock.

Secondly, in asserting that "a hundred or more" Representatives voted against their convictions in supporting the appropriation for the Committee on Un-American Activities, you have, in a reckless fashion, impugned the honesty and the motives of almost every member of the House of Representatives. In doing this, you have resorted to the very same tactic which you find objectionable when used by others.

Thirdly, even if your allegations were true, and if in a secret ballot "a hundred or more" Representatives would have voted against the appropriation of funds for the Committee on Un-American Activities, the vote in the House still would have been 3 to 1 in support of the committee's work. While the two — as I have already mentioned — are not comparable, I believe that even such a 3-to-1 House vote would indicate "a more accurate mirror of national opinion" than the 5-to-4 vote of the Supreme Court on the above-mentioned cases.

Fourthly, since you saw fit to include my name — at least "by placement" — within the group of Congressmen who, in your opinion, "failed to vote their convictions," I would like to set the record straight: I *did* vote my conscience and conviction and I believe that my vote is in harmony with the opinion of the majority of the people whom I have the privilege to represent.

I have, in the past, criticized some of the methods used by the Committee on Un-American Activities, and I intend to speak against any abuse of legislative power. At the same time, I believe that the committee's legislative accomplishments, and its work in exposing the methods and the true aims of the Communist movement, warrant its continuation. I intend, therefore, to continue to support the legitimate work of that committee.

CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI
Member of Congress
Washington, D.C. (4th Dist., Wis.)

For other viewpoints on the House's vote on this issue, turn to page 279. — ED.

Never Enough

Dear Sirs: Your editorial on "The American Way" (Mar. 11) is excellent. As for subsidies, Henry D. Lloyd, in his *Wealth vs. Commonwealth*, wrote: "The old woman who thanked God, upon her first sight of the sea, that at last she had seen something there was enough of, lived before subsidies were invented."

Chicago, Ill. MEYER WEINBERG

Clear and Lucid Camus

Dear Sirs: Re Nelson Algren's review, "Man With the Luger," in your March 4 issue, Mr. Algren ought not to expose his inability to understand clear and lucid language. It is not Camus' work which became unraveled; it is Mr. Algren who has become unraveled, starting with the top of his head. . . .

Camus never justified violence on the basis of an abstract humanitarianism. . . . He told us we must make our rebellion without compromising it by becoming murderers. (As the Negroes have learned to do in the South, Mr. Algren.)

New York City ESTHER BLOOM

Dear Sirs: Miss Bloom misapprehends. The stamp of approval given the work of Camus by Spanish fascism was not done by this reviewer's instruction, but by Francisco Franco.

That Camus' humanitarianism became abstract is demonstrated by the fact that his family loyalty left him too divided to take a stand against French colonialism in his country.

I did not discuss the unraveling of Algren to the neck for the same reason that I omitted an analysis of the influence of Hurricane Jackson's mother upon Hurricane, not considering either matter urgent to the review.

Chicago, Ill. NELSON ALGREN

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NEW YORK, SATURDAY, APRIL 1, 1961
VOLUME 192, No. 13

THE NATION

EDITORIALS

The Uncivilized Laotians

East and West have an excruciating problem in the little country of Laos. The problem is not so much avoiding a nuclear war: the good Lord, presumably, will take care of that. The real difficulty is that the Laotians, lacking the red-blooded instincts of modern man, are not interested in organized manslaughter. They are not Christians and have never heard of the Sixth Commandment, yet they object to killing one another. The civil war has now been raging in Laos for several months, indeed for years; presidents, premiers and diplomats sweat and stew over it, hardened warriors from North Vietnam and the United States train the Laotian troops, enough supplies are flown in to make a Verdun or a Battle of the Bulge. But where are the casualty lists? True, a soldier is shot now and then, or more likely a civilian, but the bloodletting is a mere trickle, a disgrace to the profession of arms and to the earnest outsiders who have labored to bring civilization to the Laotians.

Not even *Time* can see a way out. It is said that President Kennedy is an omnivorous reader of the news; if so, his staff should take measures to keep the March 17 issue of *Time* out of his hands, even if it means buying up and burning all the copies in Washington. The editors of *Time* are certainly not lacking in appreciation of the virtues of large-scale homicide, but in the long report on Laos there is not a trace of hope. The Laotians, it appears, are interested only in love, and not Platonic love either. Prince Boun Oum, the West's choice as Premier, is said to be "excessively fond of drinking and wenching." Quoting the British author Norman Lewis, the *Time* reporter says that when the French were in charge, their officers, after a tour of duty in Laos, were marked for the rest of their lives by "gentle, rapt expressions" and a "vaguely dissolute manner." Consequently, the $310 million the United States poured into Laos in the past six years has been wasted; it has failed to raise the standard of dying in the backward land.

Of course the President could, with a single sentence over the telephone and a few fireside chats, embroil the United States in the righteous cause of keeping Laos neutral but leaning 45 degrees toward the West. Our fighting men are ready with old-fashioned gunpowder, trinitrotoluene, napalm and, if need be, nuclear devices, to set the Laotians a good example. But there are obstacles to this forthright course. Laos is on the other side of the world from the United States; and, by the same accident of geography, it has a common border with Red China, which may at some juncture pour its faceless (but not gunless) hordes across the line. The U.N. has its troubles elsewhere. Harry Truman recovered from Korea, but John F. Kennedy might not recover from Laos. There does not seem to be much point in trying to get history to repeat itself in this part of the globe. Through Admiral Felt, their mouthpiece, America's fighting men will firmly state their willingness to fight, but they will probably not be called on to make the supreme sacrifice so far from home.

The best remaining hope is in the forthcoming SEATO confabulation. Perhaps the troops of staunchly pro-Western Thailand can be rushed in to stem the Red tide. The quality of the Thai legions is, however, an unknown quantity. Any solution, military or otherwise, is likely to prove impermanent. *Time* quotes an American diplomat: "Laos is going to be a problem throughout our lifetime or longer." If so, we have plenty of time to think about it.

The Return from Niagara Falls

The political honeymoon is, of course, as old as the Presidency; every new President enjoys a romance with the people and the press. But some Presidential

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honeymoons last longer than others. While it has been a refreshing and novel experience to have an attractive young couple, with a charming daughter, in the White House, not even the luck of the Irish will sustain the Kennedy honeymoon much longer. Mutterings can already be heard off-stage. For example, Senator Clifford Case, a spoilsport, has suggested that the President should stop calling "wolf! wolf!" and tell the people in plain terms what sacrifices he is going to expect them to make.

It is all very well for the 500 or 1,000 young Americans who will eventually be selected for the Peace Corps to serve as temporary stand-ins for the rest of us; but is their "sacrifice" to be the full measure of our dedication? It is not even clear that the young Peace Corps volunteers are going to make much of a sacrifice; already there is talk of "pin money" and something in the nature of "severance pay," not to mention food, clothing, shelter, medical care, travel expenses, etc.

Even some of the Democratic press is beginning to say that many of the President's proposals read, in cold print, very much like "warmed-over Eisenhower." The Latin American proposal was not made more breathtaking by the interpolation of a few Spanish phrases. *"Progreso Si, Tirania No!"* by all means, but we doubt that the President's speech stirred the pulse of the Bolivian miners much more than it did ours. His domestic farm program opens up no new "frontiers" on the problem of agricultural surpluses; it simply spells MORE. The remedies proposed for unemployment have little novelty or boldness about them. Of his ambassadorial appointments, only those to India and Japan qualify as "new frontiersmen" in diplomacy; the others are in the all-too-familiar mold of the past.

In the opinion of his more critical supporters, it looks as though the President, having enjoyed a two-month honeymoon, is about to begin the sobering return from Niagara Falls.

Experiment on Okinawa

Good-natured Americans, reading in their daily papers and weekly magazines that America desires nothing but peace everlasting, must shake their heads over the malevolence of the Chinese Reds. If these kindly Americans had access to the limited-circulation weeklies of the armament industries, they might find the heathen Reds less incomprehensible. The March 13 issue of *Missiles and Rockets,* for instance, contains a revealing story datelined Naha, Okinawa, by Frank G. McGuire, the propulsion expert of the paper. Titled "Mace-B Bases Readied on Okinawa," it tells of the decision to emplace nuclear weapons on the island—"a calculated risk of major international political repercussions, but these so far have not developed." Not so far.

The Mace-B is a late and much improved version of an air-breathing missile—essentially a pilotless aircraft. An earlier version, Matador, is based on Formosa and radio-controlled from a ground station in the Pescadores. The Chinese Reds have not taken Matador too seriously, since the range is limited and they could probably jam the radio transmitter. Mace-B is another matter. It has a range of 1,200 miles or more, a ceiling of over 40,000 feet, and a cruise speed of over 650 mph that becomes supersonic in the terminal dive on target. Still, with good gunnery it might be shot down. What it amounts to is that the missile provides a maximum of irritation with only mediocre potential against military targets. Against cities, however, it might be effective.

Since the peace-loving U.S. Air Force has heretofore been so cautious in bringing nuclear hardware to the Pacific, why this calculated risk at this time? There are several reasons. The Air Force loves the Navy's carriers about as much as the gas-heater salesmen love the oil-burner salesmen, or vice versa. But it has been impossible to base nuclear weapons on islands which are under active Japanese sovereignty: there would be riots. In Okinawa, Japanese sovereignty is "residual" and the Okinawa Japanese, while somewhat restive, are not as prone to smash windows and overturn cars as their countrymen to the north. Nevertheless, the Air Force has played down publicity on the bases as much as possible, for fear of stirring up trouble at the Japanese universities. The Mace-B installations still remain semi-secret; everybody knows about them, but nobody talks.

Off the record, however, the Air Force explains that it just had to have these Mace-B bases. With a 1,200-mile radius, they can theoretically drop nuclear bombs on all the major industrial centers of China, or even Soviet Vladivostok. Moreover, the Mace-B has all-inertial guidance—all the target-finding equipment is within the missile itself—and so it has a better chance of reaching the target. And by and by ballistic Thors, Polarises or Minutemen may take its place. The Air Force begins rather modestly, but it does not lack ambition. When the Chinese Reds begin foaming at the mouth the next time, everyone will see how unreasonable they are.

The Eastland Imprimatur

The John Birch Society (see *The Nation,* March 11) has now received the blessing of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, presided over by Senator James O. Eastland of Mississippi. In a form letter sent to inquirers, Senator Eastland says that the subcommittee cannot endorse any organization officially. He then proceeds to do it unofficially: "The John Birch Society . . . is known to be a conservative anti-Communist organization. . . . We are happy to state that it seems to be, from our records, a patriotic organization."

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Since he comes from a state where the "conservative" white half of the population finds it both profitable and patriotic to sit on the disfranchised and disadvantaged Negro half, Senator Eastland's endorsement is quite in character. Not all conservatives, however, agree with him. Senator Milton R. Young of North Dakota probably considers himself a conservative, but he has been inserting in the *Congressional Record* newspaper stories highly critical of the society's activities. These include the series of five articles by Gene Blake which started in the *Los Angeles Times* on March 5. The society is there quoted as expecting 100,000 members by the end of 1961; its ultimate goal is a million. Robert Welch, the retired candy manufacturer who is the society's founder and the head of its hierarchy, has written that he believes Milton Eisenhower to be a Communist of thirty years' standing and the "superior and boss within the Communist Party" of Dwight Eisenhower. In his book, *The Politician,* from which Blake quotes at length, Welch also lists Chief Justice Earl Warren, the late Secretary of State John Foster Dulles and his brother Allen Dulles, head of the Central Intelligence Agency, as tools, at the very least, of the "Communist conspiracy." And, of course, Franklin D. Roosevelt and George Catlett Marshall were guilty of "plain unadulterated treason." Joe McCarthy may be moldering in his grave, but his soul goes marching on.

However, there is a wide spectrum of conservatism, as of liberalism, and what is food and drink for the strong men of the John Birch sodality is poison for conservatives farther to the left, if one may use the term in a strictly directional sense and without invidious intent. On March 12, on the front page of the *Los Angeles Times,* the publisher, Otis Chandler, denounced the "godless materialism and blood-soaked tyranny of the Communist conspiracy" but went at the John Birch Society with almost equal vehemence. The *Times* does not believe, he wrote, that the argument for conservatism can be won "by smearing as enemies and traitors those with whom we sometimes disagree. Subversion, whether of the Left or the Right, is still subversion." Senator Eastland doesn't even have to send for the *Los Angeles Times* for his lesson in patriotism; Senator Young will provide it for him in the *Congressional Record.*

The New *Newsweek*

In the nature of things political, *The Nation* does not dwell cheek by jowl with the great news weeklies, nor does it often agree with either their handling of the news or their editorial policies. One of *The Nation's* objections has been, in fact, that these Gargantuan enterprises, which profess to be news magazines, are not what they call themselves; they allow the publisher's views to permeate everything they print. Least at fault in this respect is *Newsweek,* which tells its readers what it thinks in a department disarmingly entitled "Signed Opinions." Now *Newsweek* has been sold to *The Washington Post,* one of the best edited and best managed newspapers in the country. It was Philip Leslie Graham, the son-in-law of the late Eugene Meyer, who made the *Post* an enlightened and profitable newspaper. Mr. Graham now has the chance to publish a weekly as honest, objective and incisive as his daily. *The Nation* wishes him every success.

THE FEDERAL HIGHWAY PROGRAM:

SUPER-GRAFT on SUPERHIGHWAYS . . *Stanley Meisler*

IN 1975, Americans will have 111 million cars, trucks and buses. To keep these wheels rolling, the federal government has embarked on the biggest public-works project in history, spending billions of dollars for 41,000 miles of superhighways criss-crossing the nation. Millions of this money already have been spilled over into waste, inefficiency and fraud.

There is nothing secret about this. Newspapers and Congress have uncovered scandal after scandal. But the revelations have not evoked the same indignation and outcries that scandals like the Dave Beck plunder of the Teamsters treasury have caused. Instead, much of the public has a boys-will-be-boys attitude about corrupt highways. When you spend 41 billion dollars in a public program, influential and impatient people say, you have to expect some tomfoolery, so let's get on with the show. Americans want their highways in a hurry.

"When you have a program of this magnitude," Rep. Gordon H. Scherer, (R.-Ohio), told the House last July 1, "you are bound to attract the chiselers and the grafters." Carl A. Carpenter, Assistant Chief of Physical Research for the Federal Bureau of Public Roads, questioned closely about deficiencies in a road inspected by state officials who had accepted secret payments from the contractor, offered a House subcommittee on December 13 this analysis: "If we have to face these slight deficiencies in jobs that we have, I think they may be a lot easier to live with than extensive deliberation in this

STANLEY MEISLER is a wire service newsman now stationed in Washington.

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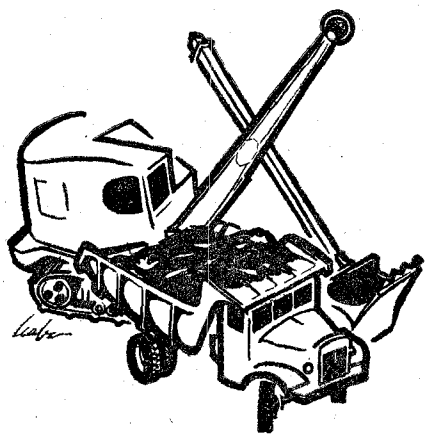
interstate program." What about the money lost by the taxpayer? "The taxpayer is the same person who is eagerly waiting for this job to get done. . . ." Carpenter replied. And Al C. Church, State Highway Engineer for the Florida State Road Department, dismissed deficient roads and paid-off inspectors by noting, "If the taxpayers never get a worse job than that, they are going to be mighty lucky."

These statements evolve from a national mood, a mood aptly summed up by Rep. John A. Blatnik, (D.-Minn.), who heads the House subcommittee investigating the highway scandals: "In the fourteen years I have been here, never has a multi-billion-dollar tax program and construction program had such overwhelming confidence and support, not only in Congress, but from taxpayers all over America."

Taxpayers are supporting the program because it promises to satisfy their hunger for cars and roads. If the program progresses, by 1972 superhighways will link 90 per cent of all cities with more than 50,000 population. A driver will be able to travel from coast to coast at sixty to seventy miles an hour without encountering a single stop sign, traffic light or railroad crossing. In the main, these highways, with entry only at selected places, will have four lanes, swelling to six and eight lanes near metropolitan areas. President Kennedy has predicted that "the interstate system when completed . . . will save at least 4,000 lives a year."

The estimate of total cost has varied. When Congress approved the program in 1956, the Bureau of Public Roads figured the cost at $27.5 billion; Congress, raising the federal gasoline tax, agreed to put up 90 per cent, the states paying the rest. Since then, however, the bureau has raised its estimate to nearly $41 billion, and a controversy is brewing in Congress over President Kennedy's proposals for levying taxes to meet the difference. In fact, some of the attempts to minimize the scandals stem from the fear of highway supporters that Congress, in disgust, will refuse to authorize enough money to complete the system by 1972.



HOW corrupt is the program? A veteran newsman has said that if an editor sent six reporters around the country digging up information, he could put half the country's state highway officials in jail. The statement is no doubt somewhat exaggerated. But Blatnik's subcommittee, in one of the fairest and most painstaking investigations of recent years, has quietly uncovered a depressing panorama of bumbling federal bureaucrats, bribe-taking highway engineers, chiseling contractors, fat-cat state commissioners and cracking roads in the federal superhighway system.

At its first hearings in February, 1960, the subcommittee unfolded a near-comic tale of bureaucratic ineptitude. The highway program had been sold to many Congressmen as a defense measure. The program officially is titled the *National System of Interstate and Defense Highways*. But truckers, assigned to cart missiles from California to Cape Canaveral, testified they almost never could move the Atlas and other huge weapons under the fourteen-foot clearances of the highway overpasses. Sometimes a driver would deflate the truck's tires and move the Atlas under a bridge inch by inch while traffic on the highway backed up for twenty miles. On other occasions, the truck simply took an alternate, roundabout route.

For years, the Department of Defense and the Bureau of Public Roads had been unable to clear through their labyrinthine channels an agreement on a minimum height for bridges and overpasses. One unit of the Department of Defense told the Bureau in 1957 that fourteen-foot bridges were fine, while another ordered the production of missiles that could not clear these bridges. In 1959, the Department and the Bureau decided to study the matter further. But, while more study was under way, the Bureau continued to approve bridges with only fourteen feet of clearance. Suddenly, on January 27, 1960, when Blatnik's investigators started probing the matter, the Bureau and the Department hurriedly reached a decision: all bridges and overpasses must have sixteen feet of clearance.

Since the start of the program, the Bureau of Public Roads had approved 2,259 bridges and overpasses on the fourteen-foot standard at a cost of $374 million. If the structures had had sixteen-foot clearances in the first place, the cost would have been only $18.7 million more. Reconstruction will cost $205.7 million — a clear waste of $187 million.

IN MAY, 1960, the subcommittee investigated construction of the thirteen-mile Skelly Bypass in Tulsa, Oklahoma, which had cost the federal government almost $6 million. After examination of the finished product, already starting to crack, the directors of a private engineering firm and private testing laboratory testified that the contractor evidently had billed the state for $524,689 worth of materials which he had never put into the road. Testimony revealed that the contractor and the state engineers and inspectors had covered up the shortage by submitting false testing samples, making fraudulent bookkeeping entries, using improper scales, padding bills, adjusting record books and ignoring state specifications. There was no evidence, however, that the contractor had bribed the state engineers and inspectors.

But the subcommittee did hear testimony linking the contractor, Layman & Sons, with a State Highway Commissioner. Lee Olen Downey, a partner in the D & G Construction Company, testified that Commissioner Tom H. Kight was a silent partner in D & G when the State Highway Commission awarded a contract to Layman & Sons for a section of the Skelly Bypass. Lay-

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man & Sons immediately subcontracted half the sodding work to D & G.

Federal inspectors never uncovered any of this fraud. Even after the Tulsa *Tribune*, in a November, 1959, editorial, "Is Uncle Sam on the Job?," questioned the worth of the road, the Bureau of Public Roads found nothing. Disturbed by the newspaper criticism, the Bureau ordered its regional inspector, Ralph Cecil Glover, to examine the bypass again. "No stone was left unturned in efforts to secure the highest type of performance from the contractor," Glover wrote in his report. ". . . While accusations have been made . . . [they] have not been substantiated to date. Those making the accusations can hardly be said to be competent to judge such matters." But Glover, following federal policy, simply had scrutinized the reports of the state laboratories and engineers — reports based on fake samples and fraudulent bookkeeping. He had not made a single attempt to test the road material himself.

Subcommittee counsel Walter R. May questioned Glover at the hearing:

Q. Did you accept those reports at face value?

A. Yes.

Q. You did not ever go behind those reports to determine exactly what was happening?

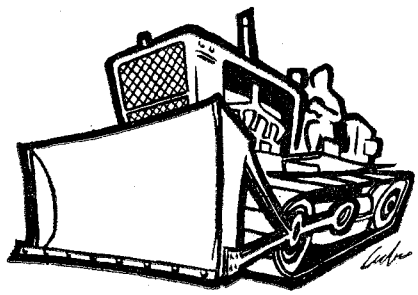
A. No.

Q. Does the Bureau of Public Roads expect you to go behind those reports?

A. No.

THE subcommittee turned to Florida in hearings last December. Testimony revealed that six contractors, who had handled Florida road contracts worth more than $70 million in the last four years, had distributed $54,000 to $75,000 in gifts to thirty-three Florida state highway engineers since 1956. These came in the form of secret cash payments, unrepaid loans, liquor, lumber, hunting licenses and bonuses for extra services. William L. Cobb, head of a large construction company, admitted he also gave gifts to state road officials in Georgia, Mississippi, Tennessee, North Carolina, South Carolina and Alabama.

Cobb told the Congressmen he deplored the practice and had ordered an end to it, but other contractors and state personnel professed to see little wrong with the gift-giving. Charles E. Bailes, Jr., general superintendent of Cone Brothers Contracting Company, said his firm had mailed state engineers secret payments of $25 a week to get "that little effort" the company needed to complete the job. "And I believe the payments helped," Bailes said. "I am obligated to my company to do the best job I possibly can. . . . As



long as I didn't engage in anything that I thought was faulty, I would employ many different things to get this accomplished." One after another, the state engineers denied they had done anything improper to please the gift-bearing contractors.

BUT the subcommittee heard evidence that indicated laxity, at least, on the part of some of these paid-off engineers in seeing that the contractor met specifications. H. C. Weathers, Florida's chief testing engineer, testified that he had found substandard material, poor workmanship and poor inspection on a $2.5 million strip of highway built by Cone Brothers near Tampa. Weathers said some of the deficiencies were serious. Rep. William C. Cramer (R.-Fla.), described the Howard Franklyn Bridge over Tampa Bay as rough and substandard. It had been built under the supervision of state engineer Joseph R. Maseda, Jr., who received $4,700 in four years from several contractors, including the Hardaway Contracting Company, which had built the bridge. "If this is the kind of bridge we're building in America then there is something wrong with our standards," Cramer said. In closing the hearing, Blatnik said he found "it difficult in the light of all the testimony to believe that the conditions prevailed without involvement of a *quid pro quo*, whatever its nature might have been."

In its latest hearings, which ended March 10, the subcommittee, again spotlighting Florida, discovered that the state had lost hundreds of thousands of dollars because of the slipshod way it got rid of houses and other property on rights-of-way it had acquired. In many cases, the state paid a contractor to dispose of a house, which he proceeded to sell at a neat profit. For example, one contractor, Paul Slusher of Maitland, testified the Florida Highway Department had paid him to clear a house on an Orlando right-of-way for $100. He then sold it for $24,500. Testimony revealed that the state paid $103,000 for the removal of structures in Miami when it might have sold the property for $372,500. The loss to the state: more than $475,000. In contrast to this sorry situation, Frank Balfour, former chief of the rights-of-way division of the California Highway Commission, testified his state had made a 6 per cent profit on the sale and rental of properties it had acquired on rights-of-way since 1956. At the close of the hearings, Blatnik cautioned all states to get every possible dollar out of the houses and properties on lands they acquire for highway construction.

DESPITE the muck it has uncovered, the subcommittee still has not reached the core of corruption. The most damaging fraud in the program involves the $7 billion the states will spend to acquire rights-of-way.

A consulting firm hired by the Federal Bureau of Public Roads has produced a 200-page report on land appraisals in Massachusetts. The report is still secret, but, in a series of articles last May, *The Boston Traveler* said that an unnamed state official had put pressure on land appraisers to issue false, inflated evaluations. The *Traveler* said the estimates appeared to be 25 to 50 per cent too high. The subcommittee has opened an office in Massachusetts and its next hearings probably will focus on that state. In the meantime, the Bureau has refused to re-

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imburse the state for its rights-of-way purchases.

A scandal on right-of-way acquisitions also appears to be stirring in Florida. Last December 1, Al Rogero of the State Road Board admitted to a legislative committee that he was an unnamed partner in a group that had bought a tract of land in St. Petersburg which was later needed for a highway. Rogero testified that the group bought the land for $165,000 in 1956 and sold it for $240,000 a year later. Rogero's fee: $24,000. But the official denied any conflict of interest. "I simply have refused to build a wall around myself and stop the purchasing, selling and developing of properties simply because I was a member of the State Road Board," he testified.

The subcommittee has a host of other areas awaiting investigation: an evidently excessive use of expensive, private consultants by several states, including Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Maryland; monopoly practices by suppliers of highway material, particularly in the West; collusive price-fixing among contractors, such as the subcommittee noted in Oklahoma, where sodders met in secret before submitting bids to the state; the care of homeless persons who have been bulldozed out of the way by highways cutting through large metropolitan areas; and waste such as the General Accounting Office found in Nevada, where three interchanges were built on a three-mile stretch of highway to handle an average of eighty-nine cars a day.

IT IS NOT difficult to spot the reasons why the Interstate Highway Program reeks of corruption. In a recent interview, Blatnik, in his precise, articulate way, outlined the causes. First, he noted, State Highway Departments traditionally have been close to the governor's office. The departments have become centers for dispensing patronage and extending favors to contractors who contribute to the party treasury. Next, the states have poor recruitment policies and low salary scales. As Blatnik had pointed out in an earlier hearing, "You find some of these inspectors and even engineers working at a salary at which you couldn't hire a good file clerk here for the wages they are getting back there." To these men, a $25 cash payment, a loan, a turkey at Thanksgiving, a bottle of whiskey at Christmas, become formidable gifts. Finally, Blatnik said, there has been inadequate supervision both by the states and the federal government. In many cases, the states make no checkup at all. And, Blatnik emphasized, there has been "an utter failure by the Bureau of Public Roads to poke through the façade." The Bureau traditionally never disputes the word of the state.

Anyone attending the hearings can sense certain attitudes that supplement Blatnik's outline. An observer is struck, for example, by the corruptibility of small people: how simple it is for a man to participate in a system of bribery without a twinge of conscience or even a realization of his wrong. A business ethic also emerges from the testimony, a feeling by the contractor that anything goes so long as the job gets done and the profits pile up. When the ethic is questioned, the contractor reacts by despairing that Congressional investigators ever will understand the business world. This attitude evokes sympathy from highway bureaucrats, particularly state officials who like to feel that they understand the peculiar problems of the contractor and that this understanding allows them to wink when the contractor cuts corners to get the job done. An observer quickly senses that these state officials were totally unprepared to handle the billions of dollars suddenly put into their hands by the federal government. At the same time, a smugness, an almost lazy indulgence, is exhibited by federal bureaucrats as they talk vaguely of States' rights while justifying their refusal to interfere with the machinery of the state, no matter how lax or stupid or corrupt.

But, knowing the causes of the trouble does not lead automatically to finding a solution. The subcommittee has not made any legislative recommendations and evidently does not have immediate plans to do so, even though the staff has drafted a tentative report. Most likely there will emerge limited proposals for revision of the income-tax laws to discourage gift-giving and increased appropriations to the Bureau of Public Roads for more inspectors. No radical change in the program is expected.

Any such change would stir enormous complications. In view of all the corruption, one logical change would be to slow up the program, at least until the states clean house. But this would ignore two factors: that the Administration is using highway funds to stimulate the economy and that the country, no matter how much the critics of Detroit decry a culture on wheels, actually will need the roads in 1975.

AN EVEN more logical change suggests itself. If the states can't do a proper job, the federal government must wrest control of the highways from them. State officials recognize the validity of this threat to their power. At the annual meeting of the American Association of State Highway Officials last November 28, its president, David H. Stevens, warned: "If the states cannot satisfactorily demonstrate that they do have the ability to carry on the program in a proper manner, then the federal-state relationship will be further modified or eliminated. It will be a tragic day for the states if either should occur."

If Congress does hand control of the highways to the federal government, the day could be somewhat tragic. The highway program will have proven that federal aid really does eventually become federal control. And the proof will drop new weapons into the laps of the enemies of such needed spending programs as federal aid to education, who have always argued that federal aid leads to federal control. For this reason, liberal Congressmen, no matter how appalled at highway corruption, will not find it easy to vote control to the federal government.

These complications, however, do not mean that the country is powerless to eliminate corruption from the highway program. The subcommittee's hearings themselves have had some beneficial effect. State highway

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officials seem to have been attempting to tighten up the program on the state level, if only out of fear that Blatnik's subcommittee may strike them next. The American Association of State Highway Officials has revised its handbook to suggest ways of eliminating some of the abuses uncovered by Congress. And the Federal Bureau of Roads, smarting from the barrage of Congressional criticism, has taken steps to initiate some realistic inspection.

But the subcommittee continually faces two obstacles as it tries to carry the story of highway corruption to the public. One is an undertone of Republican disparagement based on fears that the Democratic-controlled subcommittee will use the scandals to embarrass Republicans. (But during the Eisenhower administration, the subcommittee investigated Democratic state highway boards with as much vigor as it investigated the Republican-administered Bureau of Public Roads.) A second obstacle involves news coverage. Newsmen in Washington have tended to treat the hearings as regional stories. In this way, stories about the Oklahoma hearings were filed mainly for Oklahoma newspapers. The same was true of the Florida hearings, which made headlines in Florida newspapers and almost nowhere else. The subcommittee must share the blame for this. Its hearings generally have focused on a specific bit of wrongdoing in a specific area, instead of spotlighting corruption in several areas at once. If, in its next hearings, the subcommittee would show how fraud has infested right-of-way acquisition in several states and would call a parade of witnesses from areas all over the country, the press would suddenly grasp the national implications of the highway scandals and treat them accordingly.

The end of highway corruption will be signaled when the American people begin to realize that there is nothing normal or playful about contractors, state officials and speculators stealing millions of dollars from the federal government. Public indignation may be a more effective weapon than legislation in the battle against highway corruption. And the time for public indignation has come.

COMMENTS ON THE HUAC VOTE BY

SIX CONGRESSMEN WHO VOTED NO

On March 1, by a vote of 412 to 6, the House approved the annual appropriation for the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC). The Nation's *editors immediately telegraphed the following queries to the six who had voted against:*

1. Do the six No votes accurately and fairly reflect the extent of the opposition to the HUAC in the Congress, particularly in view of the Supreme Court's 5 to 4 decision in the Braden-Wilkinson case?

2. If the six votes are not a fair measure of Congressional opposition, how do you account for the fact that more of your colleagues did not join with you in voting No?

3. How would you estimate realistically the opposition in Congress? Assuming a secret ballot, or voice vote, what would be the extent of the No votes?

4. In your opinion, what could be done to create a climate of opinion in which more Congressmen might be willing to vote their private convictions on this issue? For example, what do you think the press might do in this connection?

All six Congressmen queried promptly responded. Their answers follow.

—EDITORS

James Roosevelt (D., Cal.)

The answer to questions 1 and 2 is a matter of degree. I believe there are many Congressmen (as shown in the *Congressional Record*) who have serious questions about HUAC which were not reflected in their vote.

As to question 3, I would have no way of assessing the vote if it were taken by secret ballot and therefore a guess would have no factual basis.

As to number 4, I think an all-out effort to reach people who are uninformed or not already committed to one side or the other — I believe these to be in the vast majority — should be made by way of TV debates and other means of mass communication.

William Fitts Ryan (D., N.Y.)

I do not believe the 412-6 vote was a fair reflection of the attitude of Congress. There are probably eighty to ninety other Congressmen privately opposed to the HUAC who would vote to cut its appropriation or to turn it into a Judiciary subcommittee, except for three factors: (a) fear of losing the next election because of the mass hysteria on the subject generated by the committee itself; (b) fear that their private immigration bills would not receive favorable consideration [Editor's Note: Rep. Francis E. Walter, D., Pa., chairman of the HUAC, is also a member of the Joint Committee on Immigration and Nationality Policy]; (c) fear of loss of patronage through the patronage committee.

If more federal officials took a stand in opposition to the HUAC, a more favorable climate of public opinion could be expected to develop. As for the press, it has generally been enlightened in this area. I cite the New York *Post*, *The New York Times*, New York *Herald Tribune*, *San Francisco Chronicle*, *The Washington Post* and *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, as well as several liberal magazines, including *The Nation*.

Thomas L. Ashley (D., O.)

I'm afraid I can't think of a more accurate measure of opposition to a resolution than the number of No votes it receives on a roll-call vote, for this is the only test that counts. At the same time, there are often a number of reasons for supporting or opposing a resolution which blend together to produce a final decision. Certainly fear of taking a position which may be misunderstood can weigh heavily against voting on the

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basis of the merits of a particular bill or resolution.

Because public opinion is so directly responsible to newspapers and other media, this fear naturally is augmented by an unfriendly press. The only hope for eventual success of an unpopular position is in the determination of a minority, whether it be the press, various organizations or private individuals, to stay loose and stand fast.

Barratt O'Hara (D., Ill.)

For me to question the motivation of my colleagues who voted for the appropriation for the HUAC, or to suggest that a secret vote would have made any material difference, would be to deny that for which I wished my negative vote to stand: the right to think and to disagree. This right would perish if penalties of any nature, even the relatively mild one of withholding our respect, were placed on disagreement.

I think, however, that the very one-sided vote did not necessarily reflect the thinking of the House on the need of greater clarification of the authority of, and more clearly defined limitations to, the scope of inquiry of committees created by the Congress. The mere summoning in good faith of an innocent person before a Congressional investigative committee, the sessions of which are widely publicized, can operate to destroy his reputation, perhaps his livelihood. My colleagues are conscious of this danger, and I think in a calmer climate and on an occasion other than a vote on an appropriation for a committee already created, they would be inclined to support a code, applicable to all investigative committees, that would minimize if not remove the danger.

Edith Green (D., Ore.)

I don't think that the six votes cast against that resolution were an accurate expression of the sum total of disquiet felt in the House over some of the problems which the HUAC's activities pose. The debate on the floor demonstrates this feeling, as did the comments of a great many members off the floor.

The resolution did not go to the heart of the matter, which is the question of the competence of a committee of the House or, for that matter, the competence of the Congress as a whole, to define precisely and objectively the term "Americanism" or its opposite. I am sure that many of my colleagues who feel as I do, did not consider this particular resolution as an appropriate vehicle for the expression of their concern.

The creation of a climate of opinion in public life — not just in Congress — in which these questions can be discussed rationally is perhaps one of the most vital tasks before us. Individuals and organizations throughout the nation are making a business — a profitable one from all evidences — of playing upon the fears of patriotic Americans. Organizations and individuals of a radical right-wing nature are busy painting nightmare visions of an America whose courts, schools, churches and whole social structure are "in the Red network." These groups spew forth their hatred against liberals, moderates, even against authentic conservatives. Dwight D. Eisenhower himself has not been immune. . . .

I sincerely believe that these radicals of the Right not only prevent the development of a rational climate of opinion on this subject, but are themselves a clear and present danger to the Constitution, which they blasphemously claim to venerate. The right to dissent, the right to differ, the need to protect this right for those with whom we disagree as strongly as we protect it for ourselves —all these were taken for granted by the Founding Fathers. The attack upon this fundamental principle . . . is a serious threat to the future of free government in this country. It is becoming increasingly urgent that the press and responsible public figures focus public attention on these phenomena, to the end that the American people can again be reminded that their country's strength has come from the encouragement of liberty, not the enforcement of conformity.

Robert W. Kastenmeier (D., Wis.)

The vote on the HUAC appropriation, like that of any other Congressional vote, is not a true measure of the opposition or support for a proposition in terms of purely personal conviction. Many factors, including certain forms of pressure, however impersonal, enter into the process of casting a vote.

Of course, it is also obvious that a vote resolves an issue only in terms of black and white. The varying shades of gray — the reservations, the qualifications, the misgivings — rarely appear, unless a member takes the trouble to issue a statement in the *Record* as a concomitant to his vote.

Nor is it possible, in my opinion, to arrive at an accurate estimate of the opposition. The framing of the issue in terms of transfer of functions, abolition, appropriations or a code of fair practices, as well as its timing, were important in determining how individual votes were cast. While it is obvious that, at the present time, the HUAC enjoys the support of a heavy majority of the House, nevertheless many members hold serious reservations regarding the committee's setup and activities.

As to creating a climate of opinion which might affect the issue differently, I believe this cannot be achieved in the face of the basic insecurity caused by cold-war tensions and the threat of nuclear extinction as well as by the recession and racial unrest at home. If we proceed to solve these problems, as I hope and believe we shall with President Kennedy's leadership, then a climate supporting basic American civil liberties and dispelling fear and mistrust will ensue.

NEW LOGIC for the TEST BAN . . *by Anatol Rapoport*

A DILEMMA is a problem involving a contradiction, an impasse or a conflict which cannot be resolved within the frame of reference in which the problem arose.

One way of reacting to a dilemma is to interpret it as a struggle for power, to take sides, and to see the meaning of life in the victory of one side over the other. This attitude dominates all doctrinaire thinking. In recent times, it has been especially crass in Communist philosophy and has given it its peculiar hysterical tone. Nathan Leites has called it "Who-whom?" thinking (a literal

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translation of a forceful Russian idiom meaning "Who will prevail over whom?").

Another way of dealing with dilemmas is by compromise, an outlook congenial to the eclectics and to the empirically oriented. It is reflected in the empiricist's attitude toward measurement: the "true" value of a measured quantity is taken as an average of several discrepant results of measurement. The British are generally viewed as the champions of this outlook. It has been pointed out that while both the English word *compromise* and the corresponding French word have two meanings, in English the predominant meaning is "accommodation"; in French, "disgrace." The Russified word *kompрometirovat'* has only the pejorative meaning.

A third way of dealing with dilemmas is to ignore them. This is the way of the expert, who assumes responsibility in one problem-area at the price of being relieved of responsibility in all others. The expert thus automatically leans toward the state of mind in which a problem seems solvable only in terms of his specialty —in terms, essentially, of effective means to pursue given goals. He often ignores the side effects of his "solutions" and is most uncomfortable when the goals themselves are questioned, for that is precisely the situation when dilemmas cannot be ignored.

There are times when nothing but a struggle ending in a victory for one side can resolve the dilemma. I believe, for example, that the dilemma spawned by racist attitudes in an egalitarian-oriented society is of this type. There are important problems, however, including not only philosophical and scientific but also social, in which the goals are betrayed if thinking is short-circuited into a polarized struggle for supremacy.

The attitude of compromise, reflected in the meshes of stability-insuring checks and balances which characterize Anglo-Saxon political institutions, has much to recommend it. Typically, however, compromise is a symptom-treating remedy. There is no denying that symptoms must often be treated and treated quickly. The question to what extent we can afford to be preoccupied with makeshift solutions at the price of bypassing fundamental problems is itself one of the current dilemmas.

There are also circumstances when dilemmas must be ignored. When action is imperative, contemplation and analysis must wait. However, dilemmas have a way of recurring, often in different garb. Sooner or later they must be attended to.

These, then, are the predominant reactions to conflicts and dilemmas: a polarized struggle, a compromise and side-stepping the issue. Sometimes the resulting adjustments are effective in that they allow the business of living to go on: one fights, or one compromises, or one looks the other way. We all know how to do these things. But these solutions seem indeed pedestrian when compared with the brilliant resolutions of famous dilemmas posed by logical analysis. There is a lesson to be learned from these leaps into new regions of thought; so it is worthwhile to look at those bright pages of human history once more.

THE dilemmas referred to are the paradoxes upon which man has stumbled from time to time in the effort to understand the world and his own thinking about the world. Many of them stem from mathematics and logic. (It is noteworthy, however, that the earliest clearly formulated paradoxes were put forward by the Sophists and the Stoics, who were concerned primarily with moral philosophy rather than with natural philosophy or logic as such. Much later, in our own day of intricate experiments, Nature herself has posed the paradoxes.) Here is a representative list.

1. Pythagoras' Paradox. Although both the sides of a square and the diagonal clearly have determinate lengths, and although ratios of whole numbers are infinitely dense (between any two another can be found), yet there is no pair of whole numbers which are to each other as the side of a square is to its diagonal.

2. Zeno's Paradox. Although Achilles can run ten times faster than the Tortoise, he cannot eliminate the 100 stadia head start given to the Tortoise in a race, because when he has passed the 100 stadia, the Tortoise has advanced 10; when Achilles has passed the 10, the Tortoise has advanced 1, and so on *ad infinitum.*

3. The Liar's Paradox. Although any clearly formulated sensible statement must be either true or false and cannot be both, the statement "I am lying" must be true if it is false and false if it is true.

4. Berkeley's Paradox. Although Newton claims to have calculated an "instantaneous" speed of a particle, no possible meaning can be attached to the result, since speed is obtained by dividing an interval of distance traveled by the interval of time elapsed. But an instant has no duration, and therefore no distance was traveled during it, so that the ratio obtained is that of zero to zero, which is meaningless.

5. The Michelson-Morley Paradox. Although the earth is clearly moving through space, so that its speed ought to be compounded with the speed of a light signal sent in a given direction, no differences in the speed of light signals sent in any direction can be detected.

6. The Quantum Paradox. Although the motions of waves and of particles follow different laws, so that we ought to be able to determine whether light consists of waves

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or of streams of particles, it turns out that in some experiments light behaves like waves and in others it behaves like particles.

These dilemmas at times gave rise to polarized controversies, at times to compromises, and at times were ignored. Every one of them—except possibly the Quantum Paradox, with which philosophers of science are still grappling—was finally resolved, but not until a fourth method of dealing with dilemmas was applied: *a critical re-examination of the modes of thought which had led to the dilemmas in the first place*. This fourth method of attack uses the dilemma as a springboard to new insights which mark man's strides toward maturity of thought.

This is best seen in the clear-cut dilemmas stemming from mathematics and logic. The Pythagoreans' first reaction toward the discovery of incommensurable quantities was to keep the discovery secret. Only two thousand years later, "irrationals" were accepted as respectable mathematical quantities (a compromise?). But the real dilemma—that the totality of ratios of whole numbers is infinitely dense and yet is riddled with gaps!—was resolved only after the nature of the mathematical continuum was grasped. The vital fact about this resolution is that *it became possible only when the conceptual framework of mathematics was enlarged*. The concept of infinite denseness (between any two fractions there is always a third) is simply insufficient for the concept of mathematical continuity.

Berkeley's dilemma requires even more sophisticated notions, which were not developed until the logical foundations of infinitesimal calculus were laid out as late as the nineteenth century.

THE paradoxes which ushered in twentieth-century physics challenged our intuitive notions even more radically. The difficulty in grasping the fundamental principle of relativity theory does not stem from unfamiliarity with advanced mathematics. The mathematics of the special theory of relativity is within the scope of high school algebra. The difficulty is in *getting rid of* a deeply ingrained conviction that we know what we mean by *the* length of an object or by *the* length of a time interval. These notions have a common-sense directness and therefore seem to possess absolute objectivity, just as the notions "up" and "down" seemed obviously definite before the nature of astronomical space became commonplace knowledge. The theory of relativity completely resolved the paradox revealed by the Michelson-Morley experiment. But it could do so only by abandoning what seemed irreducible and unassailable common-sense notions of space and time, notions which Kant had declared to be rooted in man's way of thinking.

To understand relativity, we must actually *suppress* these deep-seated notions, to dismiss categorically the questions which force themselves upon us, such as "But what is the *real* time interval between two given events?" This question makes sense in Newtonian metaphysics but not in the metaphysics of Einstein-Minkowski, which underlies relativity theory. If we ask the question, we shut the door upon ourselves, as it were, and remain trapped in the Newtonian framework, within which the Michelson-Morley Paradox remains unresolved.

The paradox-dissolving insight comes only to the thinker able to break out of a mode of thought which is usually so habitual as to preclude examination. The thinker has to "step outside," as it were, in order to lay bare the prejudices that have served as axioms. The Liar's Paradox is resolved when this principle of "stepping outside" is recognized explicitly. This paradox is the simplest of the so-called antilogies, which contain self-contradictions associated with statements that make assertions about themselves (like the statement "I am lying," i.e., "This statement is false."). The modern logician accordingly distinguishes between an *object language* and a *metalanguage*. In the latter, assertions are made about the object language. The metalanguage is outside the object language: one has "stepped outside" when one speaks it. The Liar's Paradox is the result of trying to speak both languages at once.

And how do matters stand with the dilemmas in our own day? Do we have one that offers an opportunity for a conceptual breakthrough? Yes, we do, and it has even been formalized, like the classical paradoxes of antiquity. I am referring to the now well-known dilemma discovered in the mathematical theory of games, the first large-scale, formal conceptualization of conflict among so-called rational opponents. This dilemma calls into question the clarity of the notion of self-interest. The situation can be cast into many different contexts. They are all logically equivalent, so any will do as an illustration.

TWO STATES, X and Y, having announced that they will refrain from conducting further tests of nuclear weapons, have a choice of alternatives: to resume the tests secretly or not. It is assumed that the tests will not be detected. Since each state can make its choice independently, there are four possible outcomes: (1) both resume tests; (2) neither resumes tests; (3) X only resumes; (4) Y only resumes. The situation is a two-person game if numerical preference values (utilities) are assigned by each state to each of the four outcomes. Suppose both assign the value —5 to (1) and the value +5 to (2), that is, both would prefer that neither resumed the tests. Since there is a supposed advantage in resuming the tests unilaterally, X assigns value +10 to (3) and —10 to (4); and, of course, Y assigns the reverse values to these two outcomes.

Taking these preferences as given, we see that it is to each state's interest to resume the tests, *no matter what the other does*. If the other has not resumed them, it makes sense to resume them to gain an edge; if the other has resumed them, it makes all the more sense to resume them also. Since it is advantageous to resume the tests in either case, it follows that a rational calculation of self-interest dictates to both states the resumption of tests. But if both resume them, both get a "payoff" of —5, whereas if they had not resumed them they would have gotten a "payoff" of +5. Clear self-interest has not led to the solution advantageous

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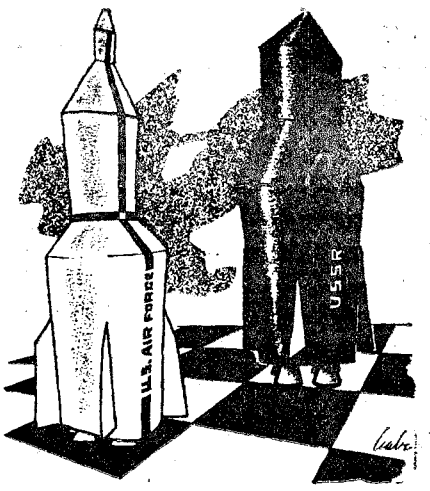
to each. The result casts doubt upon the rationality of "rational calculation." Hence the dilemma.

Now the theory of games is pursued by mathematicians, and their discipline does not inspire polarized commitments. Mathematicians do not, as a rule, engage in crusades. Nor are mathematicians accustomed to resolving dilemmas by compromise (to my knowledge, no one has suggested pronouncing the race between Achilles and the Tortoise a tie). But mathematicians have in the past side-stepped dilemmas. For example, Berkeley's dilemma was ignored throughout the eighteenth century by mathematicians who forged ahead developing the calculus without worrying about its foundations until the whole edifice threatened to collapse; only then did they rebuild the foundations and resolve the dilemma. Since that time, mathematicians have been taking mathematical dilemmas quite seriously. However, the Prisoner's Dilemma (as the game cited above is now called in game-theoretical literature) is not really a *mathematical* dilemma, but a *behavioral* one. The question is what to do: self-interest prescribes the resumption of tests, yet both sides prefer not to do so.

THIS particular dilemma has been side-stepped by game-theoreticians in several different ways. In Von Neumann and Morgenstern's treatment (*Theory of Games and Economic Behavior*), it is assumed that if two or more players stand to gain by merging their interests, this can always be done. In the game cited, obviously both players stand to gain by forming a coalition. Once a coalition is formed, the *joint* interest dictates the decision—namely, not to resume the tests.

This seems to be a satisfactory solution, but it does not meet the dilemma head on. It fails to prescribe for the case when a coalition is *not* possible, such as in the case under consideration, where each side is considering a *secret* renewal of the tests. In discussing a similar game (with communication between the players disallowed), Luce and Raiffa in their book (*Games and Decisions*) finally exclaim, "There ought to be a law



against such games, and there frequently is!" This, of course, is also side-stepping the issue. Even less satisfactory is the view which prescribes (in the absence of communication) the solution arrived at by calculation of self-interest on purely strategic grounds, without regard to the discrepancy between what is achieved and what could be achieved. Such a view, applied to the case we are discussing, declares the expectation of a mutually satisfactory outcome unrealistic in the absence of a possibility of a pre-arrangement, and prescribes the renewal of tests.

ALTHOUGH it leads to the least satisfactory "solution," the view just cited has the advantage of pinpointing the dilemma. As has already been suggested, there is no way to resolve a genuine dilemma within the conceptual framework in which it arose. The conception framework of game theory includes terms like utility, strategy, payoff, etc. It includes a definition of rationality as the pursuit of strategies and policies which yield the maximum expected gain within the constraints of a given situation. But it does not contain notions like "trust" or "solidarity." Thus game theory cannot prescribe the following independent line of reasoning to either X or Y: "Since we both stand to gain if neither of us resumes the tests and since the only way to achieve this outcome is to refrain from testing, trusting that the other will do the same, clearly this is the choice indicated." This prescription cannot be rationalized in terms of game-theoretical concepts, because game theory defines common interest only in the context of an explicit contractual arrangement (a coalition). Common interest in the sense of solidarity is beyond the scope of game-theoretical concepts, and so is trust.

From the strategic point of view, the decision not to resume testing is "irrational." It is based on a tacit assumption that the opponent will do what we will do, whereas no such dependency can be assumed. But the strategic recommendation, i.e., to resume testing, is obviously bad even though strategically irreproachable, because it leads to an outcome that is bad for both parties. The inescapable conclusion is that strategic thinking simply cannot cope with situations of the sort described. By its very nature, strategic thinking, even if it is "impartial," i.e., considers the interests of both sides, nevertheless considers the interests of *one side at a time* and so unavoidably leads to a conclusion disadvantageous to both.

It has been pointed out that the present unbearable international situation is the result of bungling and fumbling, of improvised postures and stereotyped reactions. The "voices of reason" increasingly heard today recommend for the most part a more expert and systematic exploitation of strategic thinking. We are told that brinkmanship is bad because there are more effective ways of using deterrents. We are told that we have been lulled into a sense of false security; that we must wake up and realize how formidable the enemy is and to take effective measures against his designs. We are told not to shrink from contemplating nuclear war but to look at it squarely and to prepare for it, much as reasonable, mature men prepare for disasters. All this is sound strategic advice. The trouble with it is that it is derived from reasoning hidebound within the framework of strategic thinking, which is irrelevant to the solution of our dilemma.

It is useless to point out to the strategists that their work makes sense only in a climate where it is permissible to hold entire populations as hostages and to wreak vengeance on evildoers by slaughtering

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their families. They shrug and reply that the climate is not of their making. *But it is.* And in casting the present impasse exclusively in strategic terms, they help to perpetuate the climate.

There is a way out, of course, for all concerned, and that is to abandon strategy and to turn attention to problems of living: how to feed the hungry, nurture the young, heal the sick, and enrich the meaning of existence. To turn to these problems means, in effect, to turn a deaf ear to the clamors of the strategists (just as they turn deaf ears to the actual needs of human beings).

The present governments of the United States and of the Soviet Union are not able to take this step, because they consist of people trained only in strategic thinking. These do not seem to be people who can make another of those "leaps" that have resolved the dilemmas of the past and have lifted man to a higher level of thinking.

In the past, when the leap was impossible, the result was simply that the resolution of the dilemma and the corresponding advance in thought were postponed. The failure of the ancient mathematicians to fathom the meaning of mathematical continuity may have delayed the invention of the calculus by two thousand years. The failure of political leaders to break out of the vise of strategic thinking is sure to have much more serious and irreversible consequences. What is required is a leap into another conception of rationality, analogous to passing into another conceptual framework, where questions which had made sense before now cease to make sense and must be suppressed while other questions come to the forefront. The new conception of rationality required is not unlike Kant's definition of moral choice, according to which one chooses the course that would be to one's advantage if everyone else also chose it.

The question, "But what if others do not choose it?" has no place in this framework. If we are to avoid slipping into the old way of thinking, which precludes the resolution of the dilemma, we should turn to questions of a different sort.

Mexico Looks at Castro

. . . by David L. Graham

Mexico City

TO UNDERSTAND Mexico, ask about Cuba. Lighting up the political battlegrounds like a star shell, Cuba's revolution finds the majority of Mexicans looking extremely happy, a few morose, and others rather sheepish and embarrassed. Nothing in years has filled more editorial space, loosened so many tongues, or stirred more revolutionary hearts.

In defense of Cuba, ex-President Cárdenas, the great expropriator, a living Lincoln to millions of Mexicans, came down from the pedestal where, monumental, sphinx-like, he had stood aloof for so long, and plunged into the hurly-burly of press conferences, committee work and journalistic dogfights.

"To defend the sovereignty of Cuba," said Cárdenas, staring hard at the United States, "is to defend the sovereignty of Mexico" (*Siempre*, March 8, 1961). As President of the Latin American Conference for National Sovereignty, Economic Emancipation and Peace that has just furled its banners in Mexico City, Cárdenas was the chief mover in what was primarily a mobilization of opposition to United States intervention in Cuba.

Intervention is the bell that causes Latin Americans to froth at the mouth. They are against it anywhere and always, whatever the pretext. Any literate Mexican can cite some thirty times that the United States has forcibly intervened in one or the other of the Latin American republics. Castro, drumhead justice, communism itself — all fade and shrink when viewed through the indignation that intervention arouses.

Meanwhile, the Communists have been trying very hard to make Americanism synonymous with imperialism, which would double-lock the door on us, because anti-Americanism is not far from being the anti-Semitism of Latin America. A Mexican's best friends may be gringos; but except in a few very limited circles, it isn't healthy for him to brag about it, especially if he is a politician. Not unnaturally he is apt to harbor a deep, instinctive suspicion of Yankees anyway, the United States having once annexed more than half of Mexico, and suspects not without reason that his newspapers, his air waves and his whole national economy are infiltrated with North American influence.

THE spirit of nationalism is sweeping Latin America, of course, even as it has been sweeping the rest of the world. But the pride of nation, which Castro has helped fire up in Mexico, too, also results in ambivalent feelings toward Cuba. On the one hand, Mexico's old revolutionaries naturally warm to Cuba's revolution, a revolution directed, as theirs has been, toward land reform and the elimination of foreign financial domination. Yet many of these old revolutionaries, and some of the youngish ones, too, have grown rich and conservative in the national service. And what reasonable man would want to jeopardize Mexico's tremendous progress of recent years by aligning the nation with a reckless firebrand like Castro? Mexico is too far ahead, and Mexico is not Cuba. "Who's for Castro? Nobody," said an upper-class Mexican lady, "nobody who *has* anything."

It was a good answer. The haves, with individual exceptions, are naturally against Castro. But to the multitude, Castro is hope. Still frustrated in their search for a better life, perhaps by their very numbers, they are scarcely any better off than they were twenty years ago; the cost of living is up 700 per cent and wages have trailed. They have seen a small middle class prosper and fortunes made—big fortunes. Every six years, when the administration changes, a new generation of Cadillac-buyers rolls off the assembly line of politics.

DAVID L. GRAHAM, an American free-lance writer, spends many months of each year in Mexico.

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With the Communist Party thundering that the Mexican Revolution has been betrayed and PAN, the rightist opposition party, screaming that the government is leading Mexico straight to communism, the Administration has been steering a course that involves neither support of Castro nor subservience to the United States.

MEXICO has probably never had a stronger President than Lopez Mateos. His suave Latin grace clothes a man of steel. Two years ago, when an illegal railway strike threatened to strangle the national economy, he rounded up the leaders by hundreds and threw them into concentration camps — *habeas corpus* is not a feature of Mexican law.

Yet this is the man who has already divided up more expropriated estates than any other President here. In addition, he has taken over the movie distribution monopoly and about 95 per cent of the light and power companies, and nationalized basic petrochemicals. The latest move of this sort was a law that will squeeze foreign capital out of the mining industry.

"We are of the extreme Left," Lopez Mateos explained, "the extreme Left within the Constitution." Which seems to mean an intensely nationalistic Left that will tolerate no non-government monopolies, least of all foreign ones, but a non-Marxian Left withal. Indeed, the intellectuals take pains to emphasize that the Mexican Revolution is a strictly Mexican product, owing nothing to Marx or to Russia.

Characteristic is the official policy toward Cuba. It is Leftist but realistic, undogmatic—non-Communist, in short. Mexico maintains friendly diplomatic relations with Castro, and permits no anti-Castro conspiracies on its soil. Nevertheless, official intercourse appears more correct than cordial, and Cubans now find it difficult to enter Mexico.

Politics aside, the Mexicans have a profound sympathy for the Cuban people in their struggle for a better life — *regardless* of the way they choose to attain it. This concept is strikingly absent from U.S. concern about a "Communist beachhead only ninety miles from our shores." The Mexicans ask: "Is Cuba a sovereign nation, or isn't it?"

In this context one can understand the remark of Sánchez Piedras, the Mexican Congressional leader, when he declared last July: "Mexico is on the side of Cuba." In the sense of sympathizing with its desperately struggling Latin American brothers, Mexico is very much with Cuba — despite the sentiments of the comparatively small upper and middle classes.

Nevertheless, the Mexican Government is far from throwing in its lot with Cuba. Personal sentiments and cultural solidarity notwithstanding, the fact is that Mexico cannot afford to alienate the United States — unless prepared to go the whole way, as Castro has done. America buys well over half of Mexico's exports, besides providing most of her imports, and supports the peso with special funds. "More and more the Mexican economy has made itself dependent on foreign credits and investments, above all American" (*Politica*, March 1, 1961). Border trade and tourist expenditures (overwhelmingly American) bring in sums totaling close to two-thirds of the national budget.

THE DEFICIT in Mexico's international commercial tranactions during 1960 would have been larger by nearly $30 million if Mr. Eisenhower's cancellation of Cuba's U.S. sugar quota had not enabled Mexico to sell a total of 400,437 tons in the preferential American market at a premium of roughly 2c a pound. For the first quarter of 1961 — Cuba being now out of the picture entirely—Mexico has been allotted a record 215,000 tons. Even if this rate is not maintained, she may still nearly double the 1960 bonanza.

In petroleum, the story though different is not without point. Despite enormous progress in its nationalized oil industry, Mexico is still a net importer (by value) of petroleum products. Her exports are heavy residual oils, which Cuba could have used. Last summer a prominent Mexican Senator declared that Mexico *should* furnish oil to Cuba. Since then, however, the United States has briskly stepped up its purchase of Mexican residuals.

But Mexico will not, in short, follow the lead of State Department hangers-on and sever relations with Cuba. Suavely but firmly, Lopez Mateos rejected the Eisenhower hint. Neither the general public, nor Mexico's intellectual leaders, would permit it. Cárdenas, though criticized for his pressure on the government for more support to Cuba, is still the apex of a huge pyramid of popular feeling. And even the influential, leftward-leaning nationalists who are disillusioned with Castro's crazy extremism, would never countenance any deviation from the present policy of solicitude for Cuba's people.

With growing anxiety and indignation Mexico has watched America's mounting campaign against Cuba: the slashing of the sugar quota, the embargo on the shipment of manufactured articles to Cuba, the severance of diplomatic relations, and now the plans for the elimination of all Cuban exports to the United States. To most Mexicans this is aggression, naked and indefensible, a violation of the Bogotá agreements and of the U.N. Charter.

A huge wave of anti-American feeling, mightier than that which flooded the hemisphere when Guatemala was "liberated," is poised above the United States. But Mexicans from Right to extreme Left expect great things of President Kennedy. He is the heir apparent to FDR, who forever endeared himself to Latin America by pulling the Marines out of Nicaragua and abrogating the humiliating Platt Amendment. The Good Neighbor Policy meant mutual respect; it didn't have to be sweetened with handouts.

Latin Americans, who are extremely sensitive to being pushed around *or* patronized by Uncle Sam, want trade concessions, not alms. Kennedy's ten-point program for the Americas is admirable in aim; the various governments can doubtless absorb the $500 million or any amount that Congress appropriates. But the key question, the acid test of America's intentions, is Cuba. And for the majority of Mexicans the case is clear—hands off!

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BOOKS and the ARTS

How to Say 'God'

THE HISTORIC REALITY OF CHRISTIAN CULTURE. By Christopher Dawson. Harper and Brothers. 124 pp. $3.

RELIGION AND THE RISE OF SCEPTICISM. By Franklin L. Baumer. Harcourt, Brace and Company. 308 pp. $5.95.

RADICAL MONOTHEISM AND WESTERN CULTURE. By H. Richard Niebuhr. Harper and Brothers. 144 pp. $2.75.

Gabriel Vahanian

HOW to say "God" in modern English? This may be said to be the question that relates these three books to one another. Christopher Dawson approaches it by way of a historical appraisal of Christianity's role in shaping Western culture. Franklin L. Baumer does the same thing, except that historically he deals with the disestablishment or expropriation of Christianity as the leaven of Western culture. As for Richard Niebuhr, he tackles the problem theologically, wondering how one can today say "God" in politics and science *as well as* in religion. One cardinal difference between them is that, by contrast with Professor Dawson, Professor Niebuhr makes no appeal to the much-abused claim of a conflict between Christianity and secularism, while Professor Baumer prefers to speak of a conflict between, not the so-called secularism, but a definitely religious scepticism and Christianity. All of them, however, admit that Western culture has come to a turning point: Western man must make a choice; only, he does not know in the name of whom or of what he can afford to make the choice. While Mr. Niebuhr explains the nature of this choice, Mr. Dawson states which choice *should* be made, and Mr. Baumer shows which one *has already been* made. Having made these remarks, we shall now turn to each volume successively.

FIRST of all, it is clear that secularism is Professor Dawson's paramount *bête noire*. It represents man's fatal enemy today, and it was engendered by the modern period of Western culture, when a layman's culture was substituted for the ecclesiastical culture of the Middle Ages. For, the author contends, "the age of Saint Thomas and Dante is more central and universal" than the age of the Renaissance and Reformation, which inaugurated "the schism between religion and culture that results in secularism." Thus, secularism means Renaissance humanism and Protestantism. It also means totalitarianism as well as nationalism. And it means "the modern democratic state," especially because the latter "partakes of the nature of the Church." This happens when the state "acquires an educational monopoly" and thus becomes the educator and spiritual guide of its citizens. . . ." In short, in what he calls secularism, Mr. Dawson describes a godless and, *ipso facto*, retrogressive movement. By contrast, he upholds Christianity as a forward-looking religio-cultural factor, a factor of hope.

In this connection, Professor Dawson makes a statement which is disturbing — to put it as mildly as possible. The only hope for the future — Christianity — need not be a civilizing or humanitarian factor: "However barbarous a society may be, however backward in the modern humanitarian sense, if its members possess a genuine Christian faith they will possess a Christian culture." And yet in his view, Christian culture is the only "culture of hope." Meanwhile, the reader continues wondering at Mr. Dawson's final argument: "Hence it seems clear that the present state of the post-Christian world, which is no longer Christian but which retains a vague sympathy or sentimental attachment to Christian moral ideals, is essentially a temporary one." No less emphatically, we read that no other solution is now possible than a recovery of our Christian cultural tradition. In Mr. Dawson's words, the choice confronting modern man "is a choice between Christianity or nothing."

It is to this "nothing" that Professor Baumer has devoted the 308 pages of his book, a lucid and arduously documented book done without nostalgia or self-pity and without bigotry. Whether modern man will or even should return to the Christian tradition is not Mr. Baumer's problem. His question is: "Can 'modern man' accept such a possibility in view of the rise of scepticism during the last four hundred years?" And this question becomes even more seriously unavoidable when one realizes that, far from being irreligious, scepticism is merely the wrapping of a fundamentally religious inclination, of an unmistakably religious yearning. Indeed, under Mr. Baumer's analysis, before too long the *religious* character of scepticism manifests itself. The author shows what this character consists in and he succeeds in charting the course of the sceptical tradition which is distinctive of the modern period and has asserted itself as a compelling alternative to the other, the Christian tradition. Its history can be divided into four phases, which roughly correspond to the last four centuries. Its beginning lies in the mechanistic understanding of the universe and results in a plea for a reformation — not of the Christian tradition but of man's enduring, if at times subterranean, religious loyalty. As a matter of fact, the author contends, this loyalty has now shifted from the Christian God to a layman's God, from the revealed truth of the Christian tradition to the polymorphic truth of a self-reliant universe. The book ends with a description of this "layman's religion." What are its antecedents?

DOUBTLESS, scepticism is not a creation of Western culture. But this particular kind certainly is. It is born *of* — or shall we say, *with* the mechanistic conception of the world. Its symbol is the Strasbourg Clock, beautifully testifying to the creed of the nascent sceptical tradition. According to it, nature behaves like a machine, and God is the *deus ex machina*. But, oddly enough, the protagonists of this period are still Christians, while in the next period they are not. Besides, the period of the Strasbourg Clock is only a prelude to the first positive phase of scepticism.

The characteristic slogan—each phase is thus summed up by a slogan or a symbol — of this positive phase is Voltaire's "Crush the Infamous Thing," namely the Roman Catholic Church in France. Even in this respect, the Enlightenment was anti-Christian, even anti-everything, but it was not against religion. It was in the name of a broader religious faith that it opposed the rigidity of the Christian tradition. This phase, which coincides with the French

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A Late Afternoon in Western Minnesota

In this field,
Where the small animals ran from a brush fire,
It is a voice
In burned weeds, saying
I love you.

Still, when I go there,
I find only two gray stones,
And, lying between them,
A dead bird the color of slate.
It lies askew in its wings,
Its throat bent back as if at the height of some joy too great
To bear to give.

And the lights are going out
In a farmhouse, evening
Stands, in a gray frock, silent, at the far side
Of a raccoon's grave.

JAMES WRIGHT

Revolution, witnesses a dispossession of the ecclesiastical supremacy over Western culture. It claims that Christianity has failed as a social institution, even while it upholds Voltaire's challenge of the assumption that morality and learning depend upon Christianity. "Religion is what it does." And what it does by definition is not incompatible with reason. The worship of reason in Notre Dame Cathedral of Paris marks the triumph of deism as well as, on the negative side, the beginning of ethnolatry (religious nationalism) and the deification of man. And the execution of the French King is the political expression of the death of God.

The death of God is the symbol of the following phase. This is a broad symbol under which Professor Baumer reviews a host of alternatives advocated by the adversaries of Christianity. Some of these alternatives are agnosticism, historicism, the cult of Humanity, sociolatry, scientism and faith in culture. One thing they have in common is the disavowal of religious supernaturalism and its replacement by tangible realities and this-worldly goals or goods — one might have said, this-worldly gods. And what these gods have in common is that they each represent a different aspect of the human condition from ethics to artistic creativity by way of economics and technology, including Feuerbach, Marx, Nietzsche, Burckhardt and many others.

In the next century, which is ours, man has become aware not only of the death of God but also of the death of the nineteenth-century gods, like Progress and the Perfectibility of Man. But today man cannot simply return to the Christian God, even while he yearns for a god. Following Arthur Koestler, Professor Baumer calls this "the Age of Longing." Its chief characteristic is that man is his own question-mark, or to put it more concretely, man still is a religious animal. Though he cannot rely on the Christian transcendentals, he craves a religious understanding of existence. It is as if, aware of the death of God, man is now grieving about it. One alternative to such self-pity is what Professor Baumer calls the "layman's religion" to which we alluded earlier. This religion is a "layman's" in two ways: it is not ecclesiastical and it is not theological or based on revelation. It takes for granted the transition from a transcendental to a self-reliant, immanentist, view of the universe. It is pluralistic, even at times narcissistic. It seeks to believe in *something*. This belief in *something* represents obviously a repudiation of the One God of the Christian tradition. Is this all? It would seem so, at least on the basis of Professor Baumer's argument — and it is a convincing argument.

BUT Professor Niebuhr would probably interpret the will to believe in *something* quite differently. For him — and I hope I am not misinterpreting him — this will represents one of the "protests against the religions and ethics of closed societies, centering in little gods — or in little ideas of God." If (as Mr. Niebuhr's colleague at Yale University amply shows in his book) "pretension to deity is universal among men," it is no less true that man himself is the first to repudiate the result of such pretension. The struggle between this kind of pretension and its repudiation is thus seen as an instance of the radical monotheism which has shaped the institutions of the West as well as its intellectual and religious tradition.

Radical monotheism is the principle which is at stake in all the struggles of the Western world. What is that principle? It is the principle according to which that which is is good or that Being is God. Thus radical monotheism affirms that the principle of being is its value-center. More precisely, radical monotheism is a "*gift* of confidence in the principle of being itself," an "affirmation of the real" and finally, it is "loyalty — betrayed and reconstructed many times — to the universe of being." As such, radical monotheism is "a hope and a goal more than an achievement." And that is why Mr. Niebuhr interprets the contemporary situation in terms of a conflict, not between religion and culture, but between monotheism and "social henotheism," or ethnolatry, i.e., racial or political religiosity. This conflict today is going on within religion itself as well as within other cultural activities such as politics and science. "Radical monotheism is not a monopoly of religion or of the church. It serves them, as it serves other religious and cultural activities."

The second significant aspect of Mr. Niebuhr's understanding of radical mon-

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otheism concerns human nature. From this standpoint man is not seen as a rational animal. Rather, man is conceived, in Martin Buber's terminology, as a promise-making, promise-keeping, promise-breaking being, in a word as a man of faith. Existence is a revelatory event, a reciprocal demonstration of faithful, truthful beings, "a demonstration to selves of faithful, truthful being." Just as revelation is not a set of assertions, but an event in which such demonstration takes place, so also existence is not a description, be it mechanistic, physiological, biological or psychological and economic. Existence is loyalty to the principle of being, loyalty to the One God. Mr. Niebuhr does not think that the institutional, religious and cultural framework in which this loyalty is put to the test has been undermined by the recent corrosion or successive expropriations of the Christian tradition. Indeed, Mr. Niebuhr's thoughtful and sensitive essay is a significant contribution to such a thesis. It may be that Mr. Baumer's work is a premature obituary of the radical monotheism of the Christian cultural tradition. But Mr. Niebuhr himself admits: "it is very questionable . . . that anyone has ever yearned for radical faith in the One God." Indeed it is. And the modern world-view makes such yearning even more questionable, even more improbable.

'Deliver the Thing Itself'

FACT OF CRYSTAL. By Abbie Huston Evans. Harcourt, Brace and Co. 48 pp. $3.75.

Odell Shepard

THIS is Miss Evans' third book of poems. *Outcrop* appeared in 1928 and *The Bright North* ten years later. The present book—to judge from its acknowledgments to various periodicals, *The Nation* and *The New Yorker* among them—has been long on the way. One sees that this poet is highly self-critical, and resolved to give the world only what she has made entirely her own. In these volumes there is scarcely a word that might be changed without loss, and nowhere does one find a meretricious oddity meant to catch attention.

Being unique, Miss Evans is never tempted to be odd. The many poetic fads and fashions that have come and gone since she began to write have affected her not at all. Frequently her poems require — and reward — a number of careful perusals, but always she makes them as clear as their themes will allow. Deeply aware of life's complexities, she strives all the more on that account to be simple and direct. Quite evidently it is a matter of conscience with her not to increase or even to represent the world's confusion, but rather to "bring back some word of wordlessness . . . delimit space to fit the brain," and thus to impose upon chaos the mind's demand for order. "Make affirmation of what thing you know," she says, feeling that "this is the utmost man can do for man."

Such emphasis upon conscience and duty suggests, correctly, that Miss Evans is a New Englander by birth, breeding and tradition. Most of her active life has been spent in Philadelphia, but the single source of her poetic imagery is a small rural district near the coast of Maine where her maternal ancestors have farmed the land for several generations. Into that matrix she was poured, to use her own simile, like solder when it spills and then hardens.

Here it is interesting to recall that Edna St. Vincent Millay was born and reared in that same region, as the poems of her youth clearly show; but she was a prodigal daughter, lured away by fame, who never returned — fidelity being, by her own account, not one of her stronger points. Miss Evans, on the other hand, has been so faithful to her native soil, at least in her poems, that she might seem to be enacting the Yankee proverb: "Use it up; wear it out; make it do!"

"Faithful over few things," some might add, perhaps having in mind the remarkable unitary effect of her work as contrasted with Millay's variety, not to say miscellaneity, ranging all the long way from *Renascence* to *Conversation at Midnight.* The important question is, however, just what things, few or many, are involved.

In her Introduction to *Outcrop* Millay gave the impression that she thought of her friend and one-time neighbor as primarily a nature poet, and only last year Mr. Richard Wilbur, in presenting to Miss Evans the Loines Award for Poetry, placed her among those who wish "to say something *about nature*" [the italics are his]. But Miss Evans, as though foreseeing that remark, had already written: "Tell me not 'about'! Deliver the thing itself, its sting or nothing." And elsewhere, after a stanza expressing keen delight in the natural scene, she goes on:

> This feast of life, for all it is so good,
> Is but an alms, and mean.
> My hunger prowls afar, and stalks such food
> As eyes have never seen.

Even more to the purpose is this declaration:

> O bright configuration of this shore,
> Can you be outwardness? Hear me deny it
> With all my members. This is inwardness
> Past all I know: it storms the very centre.

In these passages, exceptionally abstract, the poet is speaking as a philosopher of the "Transcendental" persuasion. The "thing itself" — Kant's *ding an sich*—of which she wants the "sting" is clearly not any spatial object or temporal event but an inward experience to which the outward world contributes only the hint, the impulse, or, at most, the raw material. Now this deeper intent of her thought is sometimes obscured, though never quite concealed, by the exactitude of her observation. She has what Emily Dickinson called "the microscopic eye," and she uses it for the discovery of those minute idiosyncracies that differentiate every natural object — it may be only a starveling hand-high bush, suckled by granite, that manages to bear one core and a seed. Yet what is her motive, her perhaps unconscious purpose, in singling out that bush? Must it not be that she finds it congenial because it corroborates something that she knows, guesses, or vaguely feels already? When she sits down before a mountain, a rock, or a clover-head "as though it were a city to be taken" her purpose is not scientific, though she has much science, but transcendental. With Gerard Manley Hopkins and Duns Scotus she shares a conviction that the mind's way to the universal runs through the individual thing in its quintessential "thisness." Like Henry Thoreau, she has a profound respect for natural fact — not on its own account but for its power of flowering in a truth. Certainly she would agree with his pregnant remark: "a true account of the actual is the rarest poetry."

Yet there is nothing here to support Mr. Wilbur's assertion that "her subject is nature," and nothing to exclude her, as he tries to do, from that class of poets

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ODELL SHEPARD edited Thoreau's Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers *and* The Heart of Thoreau's Journals. *His life of Bronson Alcott,* Pedlar's Progress, *won a Pulitzer Prize.*

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for wh "nature has become a set of symbol hich they employ . . . in the present of their inner experience." Empha y she belongs in that class, as Mr. ar does also.

Amc ne 167 poems that Miss Evans published in book form there is not e in which nature is dealt with for its own sake. To that statement the wonde ul "Tree in Night Wind" of the preser volume may seem an exception, but o ly because of the sheer virtuosity by w ich the tumult in the tree is conveyed as the metaphor of a passionate human experience. Even bolder in conception, more startling in method, both deeper and loftier in its plunge and soar, is the poem "Fact of Crystal" that gives its name to this book. Here the geological metaphor, which this poet has used or implied scores of times in earlier work, is given full sway. Only the "objective correlative" is stated. No "as-so" parallel like that in Longfellow's sonnet called "Nature" is drawn, so that if the poem has any parabolic intent it is not in the least obtruded. It can be read, therefore, and no doubt will be, on many levels of interpretation, though surely no one can fail to see that its forty lines are all but unimaginably vast in their temporal sweep. For one reader, at least, the poem is autobiographical. Its action begins with creation's morning and ends with the writing of the last line: "Here's most amorphous grappled into jewel."

A reviewer, perhaps no less than a poet, is morally bound to "make affirmation" of what thing he knows, and therefore it must be said here in good set terms that the poem "Fact of Crystal," for one of its readers, is a work of unquestionable grandeur, produced by a woman whom it is high time we recognized as a major poet of our day. That poem may be her masterpiece, but it does not stand alone. One finds it foreshadowed again and again in her earlier work, going back to the fiercely magnificent lines, born of agony, entitled "Will He Give Him a Stone?" The reply was "Yes," the stone was accepted as food, and "Fact of Crystal" is what has come of it.

Thus we find in Abbie Huston Evans' work as a whole a remarkable integrity. In a double sense, it may be called monolithic. This will become more apparent when some publisher brings all her work between two covers. Must we wait a hundred years, as we did for the definitive edition of Emily Dickinson?

Why Men Give Up

THE INFORMED HEART: Autonomy in a Mass Age. By Bruno Bettelheim. The Free Press. 309 pp. $5.

Stephen Zoll

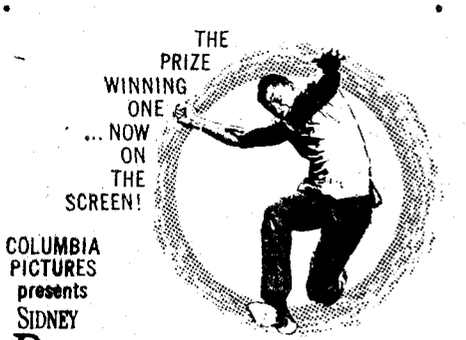
An ANIMAL behaviorist has theorized that primitive man, in order to domesticate the dog, may have selected for breeding those members of the species that retained their puppyhood longest, and thus produced in time a beast of lifelong tractability. Enforced juvenility as a sophisticated political practice, with Nazi Germany as the field of study, is the subject of Bruno Bettelheim's *The Informed Heart*. Dr. Bettelheim is theoretical about the psychological consequences of the citizens' inability to make their own decisions, rather than historical about the decisions that were made for them, yet this is history in the sense that *Civilization and its Discontents* is history, or Marcuse's *Eros and Civilization*. Freud wrote of man supressing his subconscious instincts in order to create society, Marcuse of society's repression of its members' conscious minds; now Bettelheim considers the easy possibility of the final step: man's destruction by his society. The three books parallel the complete history of wolf into cocker spaniel.

One question haunts the hard studies of Germany's recent past: How could it have happened? Dr. Bettelheim's answer is simple — those who are oppressed submit to precisely that power which they themselves have abdicated. But lest this seem simplistic, the author emphasizes the manifold ways of abdication and the opportunities open to us all. He offers a thoroughly examined distinction between the mass state and the total mass state: in the former the compromise of individual autonomy is seduced; in Nazi Germany it was coerced.

Why does a man give up? Dr. Bettelheim does not agree with the concept that after the Peace Treaty of 1919, the German citizen, since he no longer had anything left to lose, had nothing really to give up. He implies, rather, that Germans gave up faith and, feeling that they could not put their trust in God, misplaced it in their fellow man. The person who entrusts the regulation of his affairs to an external force becomes anxious because he has tacitly admitted an inability to act out his own convictions, affect his own changes, continue making his own free choices. This is the position of the child who is without influence on his environment — passive and vulnerable. Germans still had their adult lives to lose, and proceeded to do so. An attempt to retrieve lost pride, once the process had started, led them to place greater and greater pride in the state and its leaders, endowing them with greater and greater strength to be worthy of that pride. They granted Hitler shameful omnipotence in order to change their psychological crime of abdication into his political crime of usurpation.

THE German pack masters understood fully the debilitation of their subjects that resulted from what can only be called regression. Quite clearly, Dr. Bettelheim shows how consciously and cunningly refined were the means of subjugation toward the end of regression. Terror was employed not in random mali-

STEPHEN ZOLL is an editor for a New York book publishing house.



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cious acts, but as a program progessively developed to block all opportunities of individual self-assertion. After the outlawing of organized political opposition, unprotected individual dissidents were dealt the harshest punishment: death or internment in the camps. These initial arrests were followed by reprisals against individuals solely because of their membership in particular unwanted cultural or professional groups. Then the intimidation of the group itself — first by destruction of its leadership and later by removal of random members — was undertaken to wither the impulse of unity in any cause other than that of the state.

Children were encouraged to denounce unpatriotic parents and, however infrequently such denunciation occurred, the potential threat destroyed the home as a last redoubt of private autonomy. The guilt accompanying vindictive filial assertion, either accomplished or only fantasied, turned the action into a monstrous, self-defeating compliance with the inescapable will of the state. Even loyal followers of the party were terrorized and purged to impress the lesson that opinions — even orthodox ones — were dangerous, not of themselves, but purely because they were individually held.

Certain activities not prescribed by law, such as listening to foreign radio broadcasts, were nevertheless punished to force the citizen to guess what the state had in mind or expected next. And by guessing, the citizen came to identify with the state and helplessly absorbed its values. The savage limitation of personal initiative cornered each citizen into living passively without self-respect; or, if he chose to act, understanding that his life was forfeit. The result of extreme submission was extreme anxiety, and "the more energy it took to manage anxiety, the less inner energy remained for the courage to act. . . ."

DR. BETTELHEIM'S analysis of the psychological results of life in the camps and in the Fatherland occupy the last two-thirds of his book; the first third is a long introduction to the dangers of submission in our own material and permissive society — the seduction of autonomy. In a world contracting in suffocating spasms, decision making is hard and expressing choice and influencing fate may be as difficult as stepping into the same river twice. In the bewilderment of plenty, compliance is easy, appeasement advantageous, conformity attractive, success itself practically synonymous with compromise, and submission incalculably dangerous. The mad descent in capitulation to the complete power of the state, Dr. Bettelheim warns, has many stations. The warning is plainly historic: the healthiest man can be destroyed by the full weight of the determinedly repressive state; but even less than the full weight, especially when applied in assorted benevolent disguises, is a constant burden, the more destructive the less it is recognized. In a period of transition, the disruptive and repressive forces outweigh and outshrill the influences of stability. Twentieth-century man must learn how to accept technological munificence without feeling diminished by confused acquiescence — that is the meaning of a heart that is well informed.

MUSIC

Lester Trimble

THE New York Philharmonic's spring series of concerts, "Keys to the Twentieth Century," has so far presented several works which are conceded to be staples of the modern repertory. This does not mean that one hears them very often. It means only that because of their importance one *should* hear them; that they are good enough to replace the large number of overripe potatoes from the Romantic and Classic repertories that bombard us year after year.

Whether they will ever do so is an open question. Even Leonard Bernstein, with all the force of his popular prestige to back him, must move rather carefully in programing contemporary music. He has been consummately skillful in handling this part of his job, but even so most of the twentieth-century works on Philharmonic programs seem new to audiences, not because they were recently composed, but because they have been so long neglected. To a listener who is really familiar with the music of our epoch even the Philharmonic programs, though admittedly the most liberal in the country, have a safe, conservative flavor about them. There are few surprises.

Someday, perhaps, when sufficient proselytizing and education have been done, our orchestras will arrive at a point where every program can contain, as a recent Philharmonic one did, one piece no more than ten years old; another no more than, say, forty-five; and one really first-rate (and not overplayed) work from an earlier period. That represents a healthy ratio of old to new. We must face the fact that in most American cities (even, disgracefully, in New York) there is only one, continuing symphonic institution. As a result, there are only so many available openings for compositions to appear. If all these are occupied by works from the long, historical past—or if even a majority are so occupied—our musical life is fossilized and sterile. It is only necessary to make a comparison with the world of painting to see what a great time-lag exists in music.

That every twentieth-century composition will not be a work of genius is beside the point. It took a great many performances and a great many years to establish most of the old masterpieces in their present position. If a balance such as I suggest were achieved, we could expect that new works would be only the most tentative candidates for immortality. The years would prove them, as the years always do, but in the process we would be building a repertory for the future instead of living off a repertory from the past.

ON THE ideal program to which I referred above, the works played were Pierre Boulez's *Improvisation sur Mallarmé, No. 2,* conducted in this, its first American performance, by Gregory Millar, one of the Philharmonic's three assistant conductors; Bartok's *Music for Strings, Percussion and Celesta,* and Beethoven's *Piano Concerto No. 4,* both conducted by Leonard Bernstein. Glenn Gould was the soloist in the Beethoven concerto.

Pierre Boulez, who was thirty-six on March 25, is the most energetic spokesman for the present-day French *avant-garde.* His music tends, insofar as I know it, toward exoticism, an ultimate in color-saturation, and extreme fragmentation of textures. By simply listing the instruments used to accompany the soprano voice in the *Improvisation sur Mallarmé,* one can indicate the kind of palette he seems to prefer: piano, harp, celesta, bells, vibraphone and gong, plus a few dry-sounding, stick or rattle type instruments from the orchestral percussion section. The *Improvisation,* because of its rather intimate spirit, and the size of its ensemble, is really a chamber work.

The soprano part (gorgeously sung by Marni Nixon), which is supported by this diminutive group of ringing, tinkling instruments, is of the angular sort customarily associated with serial composition. Mallarmé's text, a sonnet called "*Une dentelle s'abolit,*" is stretched on a melodic line so full of swoops, flutters and shrieks that linguistic sense disappears. A word here and there can be understood; a phrase, never. At the

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same time, one gets the distinct impression that this major onslaught upon the poem's innards and outards has been accomplished without brutality; on the contrary, with the utmost delicacy and refinement of feeling.

I was not, however, impressed by Boulez's *Improvisation*. It seemed to take a long, labored and self-conscious walk around the block, only to end right back at Impressionism. It is hardly an achievement to draw bright and exotic color from a body of instruments which have nothing but color to offer. One would have to look beyond the coloristic surface of this music to know if it embodies anything else. For the most part, I don't think it does. Though the *Improvisation* is a pretty work, carefully composed and serious, it strikes me as being a little desperate—and more than a little dull.

BARTOK'S *Music for Strings, Percussion and Celesta* is a staple of the contemporary repertory which is probably familiar to more people through recordings than through concert performances. It is a first-rate piece—one of Bartok's most ingratiating—and if it is not a full-fledged masterpiece, it comes very close.

There is, however, something acoustically peculiar about it. Despite its great virtues of rhythmic energy, and structural and melodic beauty, the piece leaves a strange impression of adding up to less than the sum of its parts. Perhaps that is because it presents itself quite clearly neither as a chamber nor a symphonic work. Like a blanket, it falls softly on both sides of the fence. It may be, too, that conductors have not yet discovered solutions to certain of its built-in problems of acoustical balance, or that a definitive interpretive concept has not yet evolved. Whatever the reasons, I was both pleased and vaguely disappointed by the Philharmonic's presentation. The fast movements were exciting—as, indeed, they can hardly avoid being — but the slow sections sounded a little diffuse and lacking muscle.

FOR HIS performance of the Beethoven *Piano Concerto No. 4*, Glenn Gould deserved every hoarse decibel shouted from the balcony. Like the Soviet pianist, Richter, he is a phenomenon encountered seldom in any age. Every phrase he touches springs into life as if it were being created, spontaneously, on the spot. When he encounters a musical idea, he seems to pounce upon it with immense surprise and joy, and his projection carries the intellectual ecstasy that is the very core of music. Sometimes—though very seldom—he can violate the composer's style in his enthusiasm; in this performance, he did not. He played the Beethoven as if it had been written yesterday, and meant a great deal to us all. His tone was warmer than I have ever heard it; the sense of drama was immense. It was impossible not to feel excitement spreading through the orchestra and audience alike as it became clear, moment by moment, that a really remarkable performance was evolving.

I wish, though, that this young man would give up some of his distracting eccentricities—the off-pitch singing and groaning, the conducting with whatever hand happens to be free, the last-minute reaching for a handkerchief. If he wants to keep a glass of water on the piano, I don't mind. (Perhaps if he'll stop singing, his throat won't parch.) But it seems a pity that you have to close your eyes in order to listen. The sight of an open mouth, in profile, babbling out sixteenth notes, is unpleasant. And the more I witness these various platform quirks—which constantly evolve and change—the less I am inclined to believe that they are honest eccentricities, and the more I suspect them to be part of a consciously invented public manner.

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THEATRE

Harold Clurman

MORE attention should have been paid to *Big Fish, Little Fish* (Anta Theatre) than seems to have been done. This is the first produced play by Hugh Wheeler, hitherto known for detective stories under the name of Peter Quentin. Mr. Wheeler can write, he has an observant eye and a sense of the theatre.

In *Big Fish, Little Fish*, Mr. Wheeler explores the no-man's land of the inglorious intelligentsia in New York's East Thirties. William Baker, the rather passive central figure, is a one-time college professor who might have become college president except for an unfortunate escapade with a girl whose father had been a campus big shot. Now Baker is sub-editor in a firm which publishes textbooks. Around him are Jimmie Luton, an art instructor of a girls' school, Basil Smythe, a retired bachelor publisher of no distinction, and an old-time schoolmate, Ronnie Johnson, now an author of best sellers. Baker also has a mistress, a married woman past the age of high attractiveness, and there are several other acquaintances who hang on to him because they are lonely and he offers a haven of sympathy and casual hospitality.

The art teacher is a screaming yet gentle queer who reads Dostoevsky obsessively just as he consoles himself with other cultural pursuits such as Philharmonic concerts and poetry readings at the Y.M.H.A. His attachment to Baker is possessive while remaining strictly platonic. The ex-publisher, who is thought to be wealthy, has no intimates but his cat and the bleak folk in Baker's apartment. The successful author steps in occasionally to see his old buddy, chiefly because Baker's apartment is close to Grand Central and he (Johnson) lives in the suburbs.

The play's plot is of slight consequence. Baker is momentarily and almost accidentally offered an opportunity to escape his sorry nest to become a well-paid translator with headquarters in Geneva. This may prove a re-emergence into the light of an active life. At first, Baker's friends act as if this contemplated step were a betrayal: he is their center, they need him. Then they accept the prospect of his departure. But the offer of the job falls through.

It is the meaning of this environment — its loneliness and spiritual threadbareness, representing a far greater number of people in our city than we realize —which supplies the play with substance. The writing is witty with a malicious edge that nevertheless manages to restrain itself this side of bitchiness. Actually it achieves a certain crepuscular tenderness, like New York in a rainy autumn dusk. Oh how sad is our city then in all the unsung ache of a people without horizon or even a proud consciousness of being forlorn.

The play's originality, apart from its literary distinction (only occasionally tipping into a facile smartness) lies in its revealing a milieu which despite its symbolic verisimilitude has never been recognizably portrayed on our stage: a sign that we are still far from having exhausted the realistic possibilities of our time and place.

EVERYONE in the cast — directed by John Gielgud — is excellent. Jason Robards, Jr. as Baker and Hume Cronyn as his comically anguished admirer are fine in long roles that are not at all easy. But as the ex-publisher, Martin Gabel who is rather off-type, being somewhat more continental in tone than is perhaps normal for this background, is truly brilliant, giving us a genuine characterization, composed of wheezy decay, absurdly selfish hostility and pathetic illness. Gabel's death scene is a graphically masterful sketch of physical breakdown. George Grizzard, fluent and light, acts the playboy writer Johnson with arresting suavity, but there is something wrong in his performance which may not be his fault.

The production, for all the quality of its acting, does not render the play's total atmosphere or significance. Each performance in itself and the interplay of the company is, as I have noted, first rate, yet the over-all mood of melancholy — the agony of vacant souls — is not present. The result is a comedy which is a bit too derisive — dryly superior in the *New Yorker* vein. This might have been remedied somewhat if we had been led to understand that Johnson, the slick writer played by Grizzard, is, for all his affability, deeply indifferent to Baker even though he tries to help him by cooking up the plan to get the job which is to be Baker's salvation. Johnson is the rich boy, full of slippery wisdom and smooth advice, who does not really share in his friend's dilemmas but stands in handsome safety outside them, making snap diagnoses. He is mainly concerned with his friends as subject of gossip and experiment. Generally the most intelligent of the play's characters, he is at bottom the most heartless, an image of the world outside in its trim efficiency and lack of warmth.

The end of the play makes little sense, since here Baker seems to exile Johnson from the circle of his friends, but Grizzard has done little to indicate in what way the character he is playing deserves such treatment. Moreover, a false note of "hope" is struck by having Baker decide to follow Johnson's suggestion and take a trip to Europe on a five-hundred-dollar bonus Baker has received for the trial translations he has done. There are also several tokens of textual tampering in the production, changes intended to render the play's characters more "sympathetic" — which in fact, make them less intelligible or meaningful.

Another weakness in the production is Ben Edward's setting. Edwards is a gifted designer, so his "mistake" must be ascribed to either the director or the author or both. For the setting is mercilessly shabby and ugly. It matters little that a person like Baker might actually live in such a run-down hole; none of the characters in the play is supposed to be penniless or wholly devoid of taste. The Murray Hill section of New York possesses a certain genteel charm even in poverty. The play's content — as distinct from its external "facts"—would be much more expressively communicated if the scene conveyed a frayed and hopeless grace with a shadowy glow in the lighting.

Still, in the dismal theatre season of 1960-61, this play and performance remain superior and definitely worth seeing.

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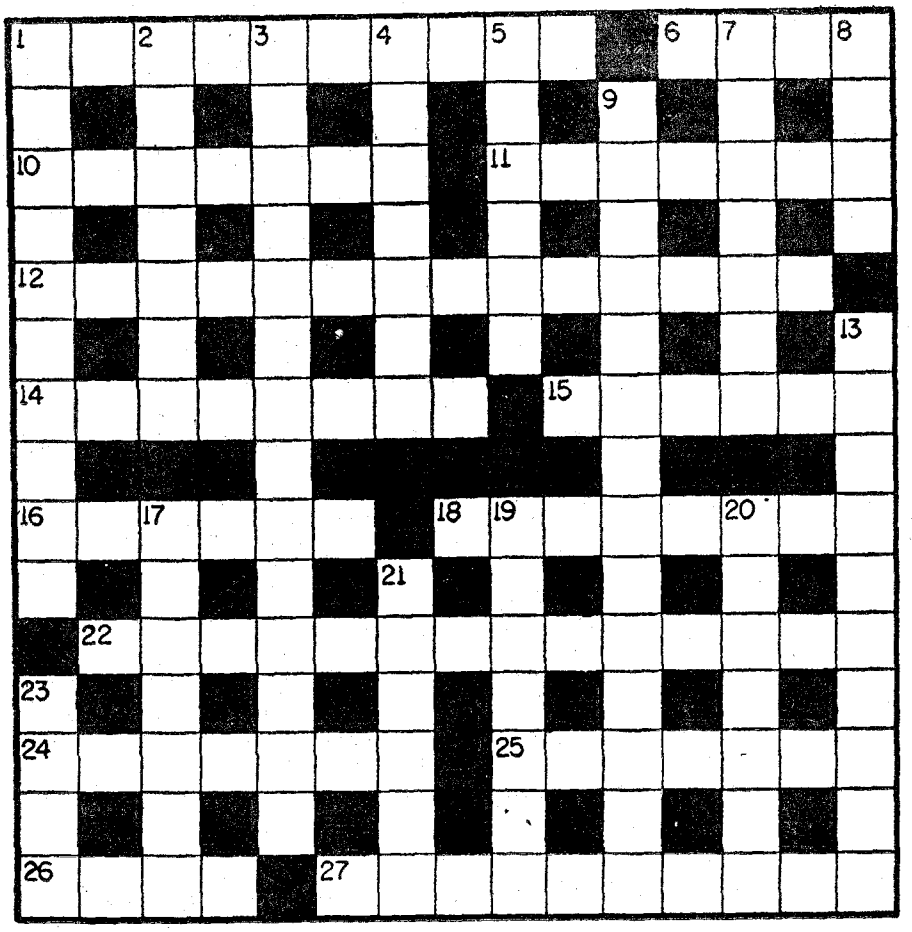
Crossword Puzzle No. 909

By FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS:

1 He is cut up, I find, in elegant style. (10)
6 Like something added by adders, in a way. (4)
10 Not exactly a tune containing a measure of intelligence, but at least it's not new. (7)
11 It's harder to keep the row even without it. (7)
12 One of those political supporters at the nomination acting in the expected manner? (14)
14 Bloom boxes in fancy manner, with a powerful punch. (8)
15 A seaport in Zulu and Afrikaans and Portuguese as well. (6)
16 Everything to pull around is fat! (6)
18 Where we live with the sort of humor which is likely to be coarse. (8)
22 This implies a certain lack of inspiration. (14)
24 Macauley said Steele was one among the rakes. (7)
25 Cain or Abel? (7)
26 An actress who suggests regular payments? (4)
27 Those running part of the Vatican did a test on it. (10)

DOWN:

1 Free canape time? (10)
2 Proving tuna pie should smell good! (7)
3 Truly, it's a snub, only quite different. (14)
4 Descriptive of Keats' unheard melodies. (7)
5 As a start, is little work to do up part of an order. (6)
7 Affected by inflation, perhaps. (7)
8 The purpose of eastern beer? (4)
9 Flint deposits were found here. (8, 6)
13 Seeing rash results in what the dunner does in last resort? (10)
17 Evidently it's a twisted curl she rolls. (7)
19 A rope is twisted and in addition gets subjected to mathematical treatment. (7)
20 The way one might tell ahead of time that an aborigine is a radical at heart? (7)
21 Seraph who might guide one onward and upward. (6)
23 Not a new sort of 26! (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 908

ACROSS: 1 Staffwork; 6 Sonic; 9 The Crab; 11 Pat; 12 Sutler; 13 Clan; 16 Physic; 18 Xerxes; 20 Multiple; 23 Apse; 25 Now; 28 Organic; 29 Appease; 30 Ensue; 31 Resurgent. DOWN: 1 Setup; 2 Alerted; 3 Fort Sumter; 4 Orbiting; 5 Kicked; 6 and 15 across Snap judgment; 7 Nibbles; 8 Chronicle; 14 White paper; 15 Juxtapose; 17 Numerals; 19 Resigns; 21 and 24 Pancake makeup; 22 Cancer; 26 Wrest; 27 and 10 Antechamber.

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